

EF-3-7140/a

OCT 12 1956

Honorable J. Edgar Hoover  
Director  
Federal Bureau of Investigation  
Washington 25, D. C.

### Henry G. Flommer

Thank you for your letter of October 19 and the copy of your most recent paragraph on "The Communist Party Line".

As you suggest, the contents of the paragraph will be clearly laid.

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**Allen W. Dulles**  
**31 years**

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S E C R E T  
UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE  
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

WASHINGTON 25, D. C.

Enclosure Registry  
9-6445In Reply, Please Refer to  
File No. 100-3-69

Date: October 11, 1956 BY COURIER SERVICE

To: Mr. E. Tomlin Bailey  
Director  
Office of Security  
Department of State  
515 22nd Street, N. W.  
Washington, D. C.From: John Edgar Hoover, Director  
Federal Bureau of InvestigationSubject: COMMUNIST PARTY, USA - ORGANIZATION  
INTERNAL SECURITY - C

In recent months leaders of the Communist Party, USA, have been making a concerted effort to obtain a cloak of respectability and legality for the Party in this country. This effort has culminated in the issuance of a draft resolution which sets forth the general program of the Party and attempts to portray the Communist Party, USA, as an organization devoted to the establishment of socialism in this country through peaceful and constitutional means.

I thought that you would be interested in the enclosed memorandum which clearly indicates that Party functionaries throughout the United States are still loyal to Moscow and continue to be dedicated to the eventual establishment of a Soviet America.

The foregoing data is also being furnished to Honorable William H. Jackson, Special Assistant to the President, and the Attorney General.

Inasmuch as much of the data contained in the enclosed memorandum has been received from highly sensitive sources, it is requested that it be afforded careful handling in order not to compromise these sources.

## Enclosure

Booklet entitled "Draft Resolution for the 16<sup>th</sup> National Convention of the Communist Party, U.S.A." retained in 21/100. *10/13/1956*

S E C R E T

Copied to SCI 10/25

Letter to Mr. E. Tomlin Bailey  
Director  
Office of Security  
Department of State

lcc - Director  
Central Intelligence Agency (W/Enclosure)  
2430 E Street, N. W.  
Washington, D. C.  
BY COURIER SERVICE

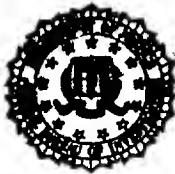
Attention: Deputy Director, Plans

lcc - Director of Naval Intelligence (W/Enclosure)  
Department of the Navy  
The Pentagon  
Washington 25, D. C.

lcc - Director of Special Investigations (W/Enclosure)  
The Inspector General  
Department of the Air Force  
Building Tempo E  
4th and Adams Drive, S. W.  
Washington, D. C.  
BY COURIER SERVICE

lcc - Assistant Chief of Staff, Intelligence (W/Enclosure)  
Department of the Army  
The Pentagon  
Washington 25, D. C.

Attention: Chief, Security Division



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UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE  
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

In Reply, Please Refer to  
File No.

WASHINGTON 25, D. C.  
October 11, 1956

COMMUNIST PARTY, USA

On September 22, 1956, the Communist Party, USA (CPUSA), released to the public its draft resolution which had been adopted by the National Committee on September 13, 1956, in connection with its forthcoming National Convention scheduled to be held in New York City, from February 9 to 12, 1957.

This resolution has been reproduced in pamphlet form under the caption, "Draft Resolution for the 16th National Convention of the Communist Party, U.S.A." A copy of this pamphlet is attached.

A review of this resolution reflects that it is apparently another self-serving Party document designed in part to attempt to give the Party a cloak of respectability and legality. Throughout this entire resolution, the Party attempts to portray itself as an organization devoted only to a peaceful and constitutional transition to socialism in this country. It further asserts that it acts independently and has no allegiance to any external power.

The resolution is typical communist fashion adopted the policy of self-criticism which was established with the denunciation of Stalin by Nikita Khrushchev in February, 1956. Several errors made by the CPUSA in recent years were pointed out and offered as an explanation for the isolation of the Party from the masses at the present time. Discussions of these errors prior to the release of the draft resolution have revealed that at the present time there is a divergence of opinion among Party functionaries as to the future course of action to be followed by the CPUSA.

It is most interesting to note how the reflection of the ideological, philosophical and political controversy going on at the moment among the leaders of the international communist movement in Russia and its satellites is mirrored in the many different opinions on similar matters being expressed by leaders of the CPUSA. The lack of uniformity of expressions

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as to the future course and policies of the CPUSA appears to indicate that a firm course of action has not as yet been dictated in Moscow, rather than any weakening of ties between the CPUSA and the international communist movement.

The following data clearly indicates that despite the claims of the CPUSA, it still remains loyal to Moscow and its present program is merely another typical communist maneuver designed only to attract adherents and gain influence and prestige.

At a party given at the Chateau Gardens in New York City, on March 9, 1956, on the occasion of the seventy-fifth birthday of William Z. Foster, national chairman of the CPUSA, Foster praised the superiority of the Soviet Union and said that he foresaw the end of capitalism in this country. He continued that he expected to see socialism and then communism come to this country during his lifetime.

On March 23, 1956, while discussing the controversy over Stalin, Foster stated, "When in doubt you go along with the Soviet Union, not against it."

During a meeting of the National Committee of the CPUSA held on April 30, 1956, Foster, in a discussion of the historical developments occurring in the Soviet Union, declared that Stalin erred in not seeing the proper moment to change strategy at one point in World War II. Foster stated, however, that the CPUSA must defend the strategy followed by Russia and must claim that communists were the deciding factor in World War II.

On July 23, 1956, Foster, in commenting on the draft of one statement of the CPUSA regarding a resolution of the Soviet Central Committee, stated that he was in general agreement with the statement but that there were one or two spots in it that were a little bit too critical of the Soviet Union. He stated that while the Party was criticizing Soviet socialist democracy, the Party should make a defense of it in spite of Stalin.

On September 22, 1956, in discussing the above draft resolution, Foster stated that he was voting against it because he believed that it weakened the Marxist-Leninist base, downgraded Lenin, and was generally critical of Marxism-Leninism in Russia.

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On June 23, 1956, in connection with a discussion of a resolution which was being prepared by the CPUSA concerning the Khrushchev speech at the 20th Congress in Russia, Eugene Dennis, general secretary of the CPUSA, stated that while he agreed with the substance of the resolution, inasmuch as there were differences within the National Committee of the CPUSA as to how the resolution should be worded, it might be well to issue two statements, one for Party consumption and one for public consumption. In connection with the discussion of the attitude of the CPUSA toward the Soviet Union, Dennis stated that the CPUSA will never be neutral to Russia.

On September 22, 1956, Benjamin J. Davis, member of the National Committee of the CPUSA, during a discussion of the above draft resolution, stated that he agreed with Foster that the resolution weakened the basic Marxist-Leninist theory, downgraded Lenin, and was generally critical of Marxism-Leninism in Russia.

At a meeting of the National Committee of the CPUSA held on August 25, 1956, Max Weiss, national education director of the CPUSA, during a discussion as to whether the term Marxism-Leninism was to be retained or dropped from the preamble to the draft resolution, which was then being discussed before the National Committee, stated that as far as he was concerned the Party would not be giving up the substance of Marxism-Leninism if it was referred to as scientific socialism or Marxist theory or Marxist-Leninist theory, but he was opposed to putting Marxism-Leninism into the preamble.

At a meeting of the National Committee of the CPUSA held on August 23, 1956, John Gates, member of the National Committee, during a discussion on the question of whether to use the term Marxism-Leninism in the draft resolution, suggested that this term be deleted and that an explanation be given for its deletion, which he said could be done without abandoning the principles of revolutionary socialism. He stated that he advocated dropping the term Marxism-Leninism because the enemy has successfully distorted its conception and equated it with violent revolution.

During this same discussion, James E. Jackson, member of the National Committee, stated that he would not discuss whether the term Marxism-Leninism should be set forth in the preamble because he believed it was just a matter of semantics. He continued that the important thing was the essence of the term even if they had to use some other terms or say something else.

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While discussing this same matter on August 24, 1956, at a meeting of the National Committee of the CPUSA, Sid Stein, convicted Smith Act subject and formerly assistant national labor secretary of the CPUSA, stated that the important thing was how to apply the term Marxism-Leninism to the United States. He stated that even if the Party did not use the words Marxism-Leninism, the Party would not disengage itself from Marxism-Leninism.

On September 24, 1956, Thomas Nabried, district literature director of the Communist Party in Eastern Pennsylvania and Delaware, stated that he was discouraged by the draft resolution issued by the National Committee. He continued that the national leaders of the CPUSA are compromising their positions for reasons of expediency.

On September 26, 1956, Irving Kandel, district organizer, District No. 4, CPUSA, stated that in the past, the Party leadership in this country based its policies not only on those of the Soviet Union but also on those of communist parties in other countries, not realizing that what applied to workers in other countries was not applicable to American workers. He continued that although the CPUSA would now make its own policies and develop its own tactics, this did not mean that the CPUSA would break its international alliance with European and Asiatic communist parties but that on domestic issues, the CPUSA would operate independently. He continued that on the basis of world socialism, the Communist Party would continue to be a part of the world group.

On June 15, 1956, at a general membership meeting of the Communist Party in St. Paul, Minnesota, Carl Ross, district secretariat of the Communist Party in Minnesota, stated that communists will have to admit that the Communist Party in this country follows the leadership of Russia without question.

On September 14, 1956, Bolza Baxter, a current Communist Party member in Michigan, made a statement regarding the 20th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. He indicated that the 20th Congress had caused a checkup and that certain changes had to be made. He stated that the basic framework of socialism remained the same and continued that the framework of socialism will not differ in the United States and that it will operate just as the government in the Soviet Union operates. He continued that some of the comrades were wrong in insisting that there will be a difference between the American and Soviet Union operations.

The foregoing data was obtained from sources all of whom have furnished reliable information in the past.

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